THE

Hindu Message

A Weekly Review of Indian and World-Problems from the Hindu Standpoint.

Editor: T. K. Balasubrahmanya Aiyar, B.A.

VOL. XIII., No. 10] THURSDAY MARCH 6, 1924. [PRICE : 2 As.

Registered No. M. 1304. Annual Subscription. Rs. 6

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THE HINDU MESSAGE stands for

(1) Self-Government for India within the British Commonwealth,

(2) Co-operation with the different communities of India without prejudice to Hindu Dharma,

(3) Education of the Hindus as an integral part of the Indian Nation,

(4) Advancement of Material prosperity on a spiritual basis and

(5) Dissemination of pure Hindu Culture.

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A Vision of India.

INDIAN HISTORY.

BY K. S. RAMASWAMI SASTRI, B.A., B.L.

I hear the words of the historic muse.
Her sweet and clear and silver voice doth state
What blundering human tongues can ne'er relate
Aright. Who'e'er will not in pride refuse
To hear her words will, free from erring views,
Perceive a chart of immemorial date
Unrolled. And she will out of love create
The past anew in truth's unfading hues.
I care not what the moles of human brains
Burrowing in the dust of guesses dark
Invent, imagine, espy and unroll,
For full of grace to me my goddess deigns
To bring the past in Vision's golden bark
And shows the pageant of my country's soul.

Great Thoughts.

[From Tukaram's *Abhangs.*]

Here tower the hills of passion and of lust,—
Far off the Infinite !
No path I find and all impassable
Fronts me the hostile height.

Ah, God is lost, my friend, Narayan now
How can I e'er attain ?
Thus it appears that all my life, so dear,
I've spent, alas, in vain.

***

Now I submit me to thy will,
Whether thou save or whether kill ;
Keep thou me near or send me hence,
Or plunge me in the war of sense.

Thee in my ignorance I sought,
Of true devotion knowing nought.
Little could I, a dullard, know,
Myself the lowest of the low.

My mind I cannot steadfast hold ;
My senses wander uncontrolled.
Ah, I have sought and sought for peace.
In vain ; for me there's no release.

Now bring I thee a faith complete
And lay my life before thy feet.
Do thou, O God, what seemeth best ;
In thee, in thee alone is rest.

In thee I trust, and, hapless weight.
Cling to thy skirts with all my might,
My strength is spent, I, Tuka say ;
Now upon thee this task I lay.

Events of the Week

In the course of his speech in the House of Lords Lord Olivier says thus regarding the abdication of the Maharaja of Nabha: "The whole record of the Maharajah of Nabha was gone into and it was intimated to him that he should pay compensation to his neighbour and should demit his office in favour of his son, his son being placed under a regency. The people of Nabha were perfectly content at this. They knew they had got a good riddance but the central revolutionary committee at Amritsar laid hold of this and I have seen newspapers deliberately representing that this was an act of oppression on the part of the British Government who wished to depose and destroy a patriotic Sikh Chief and that the British Government were intending to desecrate the shrines of the Sikh religion in Nabha." Strange to say this version of the intimation to the Maharajah of Nabha to abdicate is quite at variance with the Government of India's professions that the Maharaja's abdication was *voluntary*. The Government of India said that the offer of abdication proceeded from the Maharajah but Lord Olivier says it was "intimated" to him that he should abdicate in favour of his son. The Government of India being on the spot should necessarily be more accurate than the new Secretary of State who stays six thousand miles away and depends on the facts supplied by the Government of India for his information. He will of course be corrected at no distant date, if not already done. We may get Lord Olivier's explanation in due course in one of his future speeches.

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Regarding the "central revolutionary committee" referred to by Lord Olivier, Sirdar Jodh Singh, Secretary of the Sikh Party in the Panjab Legislative Council has sent a Telegram to the Secretary of State in the course of which he says:—"The whole Sikh community feels insulted, recent speech of Lord Olivier, characterising S. G. P. C, as a central revolutionary committee. The Government itself recognises this body as representative of the Sikh community in Gurudwara reform and has publicy recognised the services of the community in assisting the maintenance of peace at Amritsar during the Hindu-Muslim riots. Regarding the position of the Sikhs in the Nabha affairs Sirdar Jodh Singh says "The abdication was not voluntary as alleged. The Sikhs want the observance of treaty rights and fair treatment towards all Sikh princes. The Jathas are going to Jaito merely to vindicate the right of unrestricted worship, which if granted, the trouble is sure to cease." Evidently the Sirdar thinks he knows more than the omniscient Government of India. What sheer impudence!

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Mr. Allan O Hume speaking at a farewell meeting at Bombay in March 1894 remarked as follows about political parties in England and what India may expect of them. "The great bulk of the leading politicians on both sides, the professional politicians as one may designate them, the men who mostly compose our Ministers, however virtuous, honest, and upright they may be in private life, are in public life the veriest humbugs—talking like angels, but ready ever to do the devil's work—to sacrifice principle to party, and justice to those who are weak and politically dumb, as India is, to the exigencies of party political warfare......These Ministerial gangs are, as a body—of course there are exceptions—absolutely devoid of conscience and of any fixed principle except that of retaining place and power for themselves and friends and preventing the other side from enjoying any share of these.........So then whenever the party in power is at all in a difficult position, sits weakly in the saddle and feels that it could easily be ejected, there is scarcely any conceivable injustice to India, or any other non-combatant party or region, of which it would not be guilty if it saw its way thereby to retain any wavering, or secure any new, supporters." How true are these words to-day!

***

After perusing the full text of Lord Olivier's Statement in the House of Lords the *Indian Social Reformer* considers it as a pronouncement of exceedingly striking freshness and interest. It says:—The only speeches of a British Minister of the Crown in recent years comparable to it are those of Lord Morley, but Lord Olivier has an advantage over his distinguished predecessor, namely, that while the latter drew his inspiration exclusively from his knowledge of European history and literature, Lord Olivier made the contract of the white with coloured races his special study for many years and is able to speak with authority regarding its results in important directions. He remarked at the outset that he has taken most interest in questions relating to Africa and the Negro race, and his observations on the position of Indians in Kenya are, for that reason, of exceptional importance. He endorsed, as every shade of Indian opinion has done, the principle that every question relating to Africa should be tested by its probable effect on the people of that continent, and that the Indian question must be proved upon the same touchstone. While ready to abide by the result of this test, Lord Olivier made an important statement which is a gratifying testimony to the non-aggressive spirit of our culture and civilisation. 'I must say however, from my own investigation into the subject,' said Lord Olivier, 'that I have never seen any evil results manifested in the Kenya Colony or elsewhere on the immigration of the Indian settlers. My experience has been that their interests do not conflict but that almost universally the Indian settlers are of value to the communities which they enter.' We may pretty safely leave the settlement of the Kenya question in the hands of a statesman who holds this belief as the result of his own personal experience. We had not thought much of the Sapru scheme of committees, but the accession of the Labour Ministry to power and the presence of Lord Olivier at the India Office, have produced a change in the conditions which endow that scheme with an opportunity of unexpected promise.

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The National Conference—Mrs. Beasant's show—was held in Delhi on the 22nd and 23rd ulto. It has come out with the proposal of a National Convention as a counter-poise to the extremism of the resolution passed by the Legislative Assembly. Mrs. Besant is the sponsor of this National Convention idea. She has been working at it for more than a year and has been able to gather under her wings a late member of the Government of India in the person of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and a member of the Privy Council in the person of the Righ Honourable V. Srinivasa Sastri and one or two members of the Assembly. As the *Mahratta* observes. "Too spirited to be in tune with the tame Council of State, and yet too statesmanly to be in co-operation with the Swarajists, though for a limited purpose, and last but not least, practically now dropped through their fingers by the Government, Mr. Sastri was chewing the cud of self-respect in a corner by himself with feelings bordering on misanthropy. Was he destined to eternally plough a lonely furrow? No. Mrs. Besant gave him timely help. She constructed a new platform in which work she displayed the same skilful hand and the same ready brain as is shown by the Chinese carpenters in constructing a portion of the Howrah Bridge every day. Seeing that the Home Rule League was shut up and the time had come for another upheaval she started the idea of a National Convention. The National Conference was a necessary preliminary to it. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru was already President of the Conference, and now Mr. Sastri has joined it as Vice-President. The Liberal-cum-Besant group is thus complete." What more is required? The upshot of this "National Conference" has come to be the support of a Royal Commission by these sane and sober politicians of India, declaring thereby to the world that Indian politicians are not agreed on the line of advance in the direction of Swaraj, and offering the bureaucracy an excuse to play one idea against the other. This mentality has always been the bane of our political progress and it is a pity that there always exists a certain class of people whose make up, both intellectual and moral, must ever play as a drag on all courageous advance. The real leaders of the people should realise the inevitable existence of this drag and lead the country on to its goal in spite of them.

The Hindu Message

The Imperial Budget.

Sir Basil Blackett has introduced his second budget and the chief features of it we summarise in as short space as possible. The budget estimate for 1923—24 was in crores as follows:—Revenue, 134.90; expenditure 134·09 which left an estimated surplus of 81 lakhs. As against this the revised figures for 1923—24 stand as follows:—Revenue, Rs. 129.52; expenditure, Rs. 129.90 thus converting the expected surplus of 81 lakhs into a deficit of 38 lakhs of Rupees. This deficit is only nominal because a "windfall" of 4.73 crores has accrued to the Government in the current year, being the proceeds of enemy ships. In this his second budget the Finance Member budgets for a revenue of Rs. 107.93 crores for the year 1924—25 while the expenditure is estimated at Rs. 104.57 crores thus leaving a surplus balance of Rs. 3.36 crores. This surplus is proposed to be utilised by Sir Blackett for the reduction of the Salt Tax from Rs. 2—8—0 to Rs. 2 per maund and for giving relief to four of the Provinces by reducing their provincial contributions. The contribution from Madras is to be reduced from Rs. 348 lakhs to Rs. 268 lakhs that of Panjab from Rs. 175 lakhs to Rs. 137 lakhs, that of the United Provinces from Rs 240 lakhs to Rs. 210 lakhs and that of Burma from Rs. 64 lakhs to Rs. 62 lakhs. Provision is made for the separation of the Railway finance from the general finance. One other feature in the proposals is the reduction in the excise duty on motor spirit from 6 as. to 4½ as. per gallon. Such are the outstanding features of this budget in introducing which Sir Basil Blackett assured us that 'the era of unbalanced Budgets has now been brought to an end,' though he himself had the candour to admit that it was "a balanced budget only on paper of Rs. 336 lakhs." It is certainly true that this is the first surplus budget for the last six years. Still we are not enamoured of this Budget. Because we find the general policy of the Government underlying the Budget does not appear to have undergone any change. A careful study of the figures clearly shows that it is a piece of jugglery that has shown a surplus. Really speaking it is not a surplus Budget for, the Government had no right to credit to the revenue side interests on paper currency reserve without obtaining the permission of the Legislative Assembly. It has no relieving features at all. There is nothing in it to bring more happiness and prosperity to the poor people. The much condemned Salt Tax has not been removed. The Post and Telegraph rates and Railway fares, a reduction in both of which would have afforded great relief to the poor, have not been reduced. The Military expenditure continues to swallow a major portion of the country's revenue. Out of a total income of Rs. 104·57 crores a sum of about Rs. 61 crores have been earmarked for Military expenditure. The most unfair excise duty on cotton, about which the Bombay merchants have been clamouring, remains unchanged. And most wonderful of all, when even the Salt tax is not reduced to its former level of Rs. 1-4-0 per maund, we find the Finance Member rather anxious to reduce the duty on motor spirit which affects only a microscopic minority of the people! Is it due, we wonder, to pressure from European merchants?

When the financial bill was being discussed last year we were told that without the doubling of the salt tax, the Government would become bankrupt, that it would lose its credit in the world-market and what not and that without taxing the poor man's salt India's financial salvation was absolutely impossible. The "windfall" of 4·73 crores of Rupees from the proceeds of enemy ships which is now disclosed for the first time was known to the Finance Member even during the last year but that was held up in the sleeves and the certification of the Salt tax was insisted on because the world had to be assured of India's financial stability. When the Viceroy, playing the part of an autocrat, certified the salt tax by a stroke of his pen, in spite of the Legislative Assembly having twice rejected the same, it was stated that unless this was done it was impossible for the Government to run the administration and that everything would come to a standstill. But what is it that we find now at the end of the year? Sir Basil Blackett himself had to admit that the Government's anticipations in respect of the Salt Tax had failed. They expected an additional in-

come of Rs. $4\frac{1}{4}$ crores from the doubling of the Salt tax but actually they got only Rs. $1\frac{1}{4}$ crores. Was it for this paltry sum of Rs. $1\frac{1}{4}$ crores which could have been easily found from so many other sources, that the Viceroy flouted public opinion and played the autocrat with a single stroke of his pen and forced the iniquitous salt tax down the unwilling throats of the entire population. We have always contended that even the slighest enhancement of the salt tax is a very great hardship on the poor many of whom are compelled to abstain from this most necessary article of food. The Government have now got before them the result of their mistaken persistance. The statistics of the consumption of salt which they placed on the table, the other day, in reply to a question asked by a member of the Legislative Assembly, showed a systematic decline in the consumption during every month since the enhancement of the duty. This affords clear proof that the doubled salt duty has deprived the poor of their necessary salt. But will the Government admit their folly ? Certainly not. Hence only we find Sir Basil Blackett exercising all his ingenuity to ascribe the reduced sale of salt to the wickedness of the cunning salt merchants who "in anticipation of an enhancement of the duty" stored large stocks of salt in January and February 1923 and abstained from purchasing large quantities this year "in anticipation of a reduction of duty in the present Budget." Need we comment on this ingeneous special pleading ?

We next turn our attention to the monstrous Military expenditure which cannot be passed over simply because the complaint against it is almost perennial. As the *Hindu* says : "In a time of peace like the present when all countries have effected drastic cuts in Military expenditure, there is absolutely no excuse for maintaining our expenditure on defence at 63 crores. Even the Inchcape Committe, which looked into this expenditure without in any way questioning the policy underlying it, allowed an amount of only 57 crores. Sir Basil attempts to show that they failed to take this and that into account. This is quite beside the point ; for the amount was fixed, as they were asked to do, with reference to the revenues of the country and they observed that in the interests of the country, having regard to its resources, Government should work up to no more than Rs. 50 crores. If the Government had been careful in this one item alone, they need not continue to tax the poor man's salt."

We do not deem it necessary to go into the other portions of the Budget to expose the callous indifference of the Government towards the country's interests and the people's welfare. This Budget is on the face of it a political Budget. It is designed to split the Assembly on the horns of a delicate dilemma. The Finance Member wants to continue the salt tax at Rs. 2 per maund and enlist the support of the Assembly for it by holding out hopes of reduction of the iniquitious provincial contributions of at least four provinces. 'If the salt duty is not reduced' says Sir Basil 'not only the finances of the country would remain on a stable basis but money would become available to the Ministers in the provinces to carry on their work in the Nation-building departments.' "We can if we like" says he "reduce the salt tax to Rs. 1-4-0 but by doing so we do a definite disservice to the true interests of India." In fact Sir Basil seems to be of the opinion that the abolition of the Salt tax would be " a message of despair to all those who are looking to expenditure for the amelioration of the conditions of life throughout India." Thus the choice is given to the Assembly of either reducing the Salt tax or of giving relief to the Provinces. If the members retain the duty they will be betraying the cause of the famished poor, thereby subjecting themselves to public odium and if they bring down the tax to the old level, there will be no surplus to placate the Provinces with and they may thereby become unpopular with their electorates. Thuswise does the Finance Member consider himself to have played the cards very dexterously. But will the Assembly allow itself to be discomfited by such unworthy tactics ? We are emphatically of opinion that the members would strongly deprecate the retention of the enhanced salt-tax and reject it in no uncertain voice, as also knock on the head the quite unjustifiable Provincial contributions. It is the business of the Finance Minister to find out ways and means otherwise than by these two odious measures.

JUST PUBLISHED

ABHOGA.

A rare and hitherto unpublished commentary on Kalpataru of Amalananda by Lakshmi Nrisimha. This commentary is exceedingly valuable as a help to the right understanding of both Kalpataru and Bhamati. The author criticises Parimala also in some places.

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Social and Religous

The Mutts—their present influence.

By R. Krishnaswami Aiyar, M.A., B.L.

1. A friend writes "At the present time the problem of Caste System is being tossed to and fro in the sea of politics and its origin questioned and refuted by leaders and the so-called Sanyasins of India ... .. Why are His Holiness Sringeri Swamigal of Sarada Mutt and other Matadhipatis keeping quiet without raising objections when the question of removal of untouchability came up for consideration and passed, to be carried into effect, in the great Hindu Sabha at Benares under the distinguished presidency of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. Why should they not stir out and make a tour throughout India in counter propaganda against the same. I think that, if they did all these, religious wrangles will cease, society get rid of the shackles of materialism and religion based on a sound footing."

The above raises a question of general importance and I take the liberty of answering to my friend in the form of this article.

2. The readers of the "Hindu Message" and —especially of the recent articles therein contributed by Mr. G. Harischandra Row on the Congress and Religious Reform do not require to be told that discussions about the Caste System and other religious matters in political gatherings are absolutely unwarranted. It is a well accepted principle of good government that there should be liberty of the person, and liberty of opinion including the liberty of the Press. But it is well to bear in mind that it is an equally well accepted principle that the liberty of the subject in any of these matters is circumscribed to a large extent as the result of the subject being but a unit in a composite whole called society. It is not liberty of the person to allow him to walk naked in the streets or to commit suicide. It is not liberty of the press to engage in venomous language or deal with obscure subjects. It is not liberty of opinion to allow a person to thrust his ill-conceived views upon a quiescent audience. As the state steps forward to control the two former with a view to its own preservation, it is equally entitled and bound to regulate the expression of opinion also in the interests of the society itself. But the state to be in a position to do so must be in the hands of those who can impartially decide what are the right opinions which can be given expression to. We are painfully aware of the incapacity of the modern governments to exercise aright their power to regulate the liberty of the person or of the press. Their incapacity is all the greater in questions concerning the liberty of opinion. This is mainly due to the absence of any guiding principle in the conduct of the governments. The only motive, so far as we are now able to see, weighing with those who want to clutch at the reins of government is purely personal selfishness. They have no time to think of the welfare of the people. They have neither the capacity to do so, The people therefore begin to think for themselves. When the power of selecting their own rulers is given to them, they naturally select those who will pamper to their tastes. I know it will be blasphemous to say in these days that the people have no right or at least must not be allowed to have its own tastes. Imagine the inpatients of a hospital assemble together in solemn conclave to decide upon the medicine which the doctor must administer to them or to elect by the counting of their votes the doctor that has to administer it. I am sure they will all vote for the eviction of the doctor first; if that is not possible they will elect as a doctor a person who will give them sweet medicines; and they will unanimously resolve that no medicine that is not sweet shall be allowed within the premises. If there happens to be a foolish dissentient patient who prefers a bitter but useful medicine to an attractive pill, he will be silenced; and if that is not possible he will be outvoted and be made to share the fate of the majority. Our modern governments are managed on the same principle. The rule of the majority everywhere—majority not of intellect but majority in numbers. The vote of a gentleman who has been at the helms of half-a-dozen states is politically of the same value as that of the loafer in the street who retains his name in the municipal registers for a house which he has long parted with. The former must submit to the inevitable if he is out-voted by a number of people of the latter sort. This tyranny of numbers has taken hold of our sacred land and it is a miracle that it remains sacred still at least to some who are with great difficulty trying their best to retain their individuality. Everywhere and in all times, the leadership of the people and the guidance of the state has vested only in a few. In the past the few were from the intellectual, the moral and the capable; now the few are from the smooth-speaking selfish time-servers. They are prepared to devise anything to please the clamour of the ignorant so long as the latter do not disturb them from their place. The welfare of the people is no concern to them. If they want the votes of a set of gentlemen who prefer libertinism, they are prepared to legalise it by the enactment of an appropriate statute. If promiscuous breeding is the pet hobby of another the leaders obligingly give it their statutory blessings and approbation. This is how our modern movements, including the management of the government, are getting on. So long as the present state of things continue, that is, so long as the decision of the majority irrespective of the individual qualifications of those forming it is the guiding factor in our public life, it is impossible to expect any substantial good.

3. Contrast with this the old Indian State, the people had to observe Law, not of the making of the sham councillors, but *eternal* and emanating from God. The rulers were themselves but the administers of that Law and not its makers. That Law—Dharma as it is called—was supreme both to the ruler and the ruled. The ruler's duty was to observe the Law himself and to see that it was observed by his subjects properly. The main end of that Law was the supreme realisation of the Godhead in each individual The social advantages which also arose out of the proper observance of this Law were only subsidiary aims. In the enunciation of that Law and for the purpose of removing any doubts that may arise in its practical application, the ruler was provided with a set of advisers who had transcended selfish pursuits and had made the study and the practice of Dharma and realised its goal. Till such a government is more secured in India, the confusion that now prevails is bound to continue. The people now feel that the persons presuming to rule them are no better than them-

selves and are sometimes even worse; they naturally feel no respect towards the latter and claim the right therefore of deciding themselves as to how they ought to be ruled.

4. This kind of unhealthy spirit has been gradually spreading itself from the field of politics to that of religion. It is impossible to prevent it. Once the people are invested with the power to decide for themselves the rules that have to regulate their political conduct, they take the next step of arrogating to themselves the right of deciding what shall regulate their conduct in religion also. Students of history are aware how in England at the time of the Revolution the assertion of rights in politics went hand in hand with the assertion of rights in religion. It is but human weakness and is therefore universal. If a gentleman, thanks to his unacknowledged past Karma, is raised to the High Court Bench or the Congress Presidentship, he at once thinks himself competent to preach on *religion* for in the present state of society he can command a gaping audience at a short notice. Every man therefore who has by his eloquence or his conduct in *some* sphere of life achieved eminence enough to gather an admiring audience around him takes advantage of his position and at once presumes to dictate on *every other* sphere of life. The indiscriminating public fascinated as they are by his personality fail to satisfy themselves of his credentials in the latter. Even Mr. Gandhi who has justly earned from the people the title of Mahatma by his high sense of moral uprightness and patriotic self-sacrifice is not free from the weakness but would assume that he is a Mahatma even in religion. If not what can be the explanation for his presumption in seeking to explain what true Hinduism is when his religious studies have admittedly stopped with Tulasi Das Ramayana and the Bhagavat Gita Text and in defiantly announcing that even if Sri Sankaracharya had explained Hinduism in a different manner he would disclaim Sri Sankaracharya rather than give up his own pet interpretation of Hinduism. It is no wonder that lesser lights follow in his wake. There is nobody to check them.

5. This leads me to the pertinent question of my friend about the inactivity of the present Acharyas of the several Mutts. Why do they not check such presumptuous utterances and why do they not engage themselves in counter-propaganda? The latter part of the question may be easily answered. If any attempt is made by the Acharyas to institute counter propaganda work without the assurance of a temporal power behind them to enforce their commands in religious matters, they practically resign their position of religious eminence but enter the arena of controversialists in religion, the arbiters being the people themselves who have to decide which they would prefer, the smooth road to ruin or the uphill path of eternal good. It seems to me that it is the highest profanation to call upon any Acharya to engage in any propaganda counter to that of the so-called leaders who arrogantly presume to lead in religion also. Further there is a very great practical obstacle also in the way of right discussion in these days for the persons of the other camp do not have any Pramanas. The great Acharyas of our land before embarking on any discussion with any body would first agree upon the Pramanas common to both, whether Experience, Reasoning or Authority. The modern "leader" accepts no Pramanas. If a course of conduct is prescribed in the Vedas and if our leader disapproves of the same, he argues that it may be suitable for the "primitive ages" of "child humanity" but entirely unsuitable to the modern "civilised" society of the twentieth century and therefore that the same ought to be given up. If he approves of it he piously recalls the ancient glory and wisdom of our forefathers who had the prescience to postulate and dictate beneficient laws for all posterity. If another course of conduct is not found in the Vedas but is approved of by our friend, he appeals again to our high sense of civilised modernity and wants us to adopt it as suitable to our present needs. If however it has not his approval, he is surprised at the impiety of the moderns who presume to know better than our Vedic ancestors and adopt a line of life not enunciated by them. Our friend's easy theory, again, of "interpolations" to account for every inconvenient text is being agreeably augmented by the "discovery" of new scriptures to suit his preachings. In short, there is no common ground between the real Hindu and the pseudo-Hindu. That is just the reason why the former is at a great disadvantage in this age. A man can dispute with another who has some settled principles to enunciate or at least has definite methods of argumentation. You cannot run a race with a mad horse. Sri Sankaracharya argued and won over the extreme materialists like the Charvakas on their own ground of Pratyaksha or sensuous perception. Our modern friend would not accept even this. If you argue with him on the basis of Pratyaksha, he will at once turn round and say "Mrs Besant has said the contrary. Dr. Tagore has said so and so. Are you greater than they?" Then the discussion will take a different channel and become personal rather than academical. If you tell him "Even your Mrs. Besant and Tagore has said so and so," he is ready to throw them overboard and exclaim "they may be great personages but so far as this matter is concerned they are clearly in the wrong." As I have said, how can there be any discussion when there are no qualified combatants and no common platform? It is therefore in my opinion quite improper to expect our Acharyas who trace their scholastic and spiritual descent from Sri Sankaracharya and other dialecticians of that stamp to engage in propaganda counter to that of our newspaper articles.

6. I quite agree with my friend that it is desirable to secure a state of the country when "all these religious wrangles will cease, society get rid of the shackles of materialism and religion based on a sound footing." But it is impossible to expect such a state till there is a temporal recognition of the spiritual suzerainty of the several Matadhipatis at least so far as their sishyas are corcerned. It cannot be gainsaid that there is at present absolutely no temporal recognition. If the Head of a Mutt passes an order of excommunication, he is charged with defamation and it is with great difficulty that he gets himself acquitted but not without remarks from the persons entrusted with the administration of justice. For example, in the Udipi Kasi Mutt Case published in 45 M. L. J. 116, the Acharya of the Mutt issued a provisional order of exclusion of one M. N. Prabhu, a disciple of the Mutt, who seems to have partaken of a dinner where all castes including Pariahs, Mahomedans and Christians were fed. The "sishya" at once launches a criminal prosecution against his Guru

and gets him convicted by a Divisional Magistrate. The conviction is confirmed by the Sessions Judge. In the Appeal to the High Court, Oldfield and Ramesam JJ. set aside the conviction on the ground of "good faith" on the part of the accused but the latter judge is not content with deciding the case itself but must needs add quite in the vein of his predecessor Sir T. Sadasiva Aiyar:—

> Though society has marched far (one would think it is not very far) since 1883, the law as laid down in the Queen vs. Sankara, 6 Madras 381, has not changed and it cannot be said that greater promptitude is required from caste authorities in 1920 than in 1883. It must be remembered that though *action like that of the accused savours of tyranny and oppression from the point of view of an advancing community and becomes intolerable as the general public become more catholic*, so long as a submission to the headship of a Swami remains the usage of the castes and the members of the community do not shake themselves off from such Headship, the Swami is perfectly within his rights to resort to the orthodox methods of conventional discipline and of vindicating caste usages, provided principles of natural justice are not violated. The *advancing community* is not justified in expecting its own *progressive opinions* to be reflected in the *immutable minds of the Swamins* or their faithful followers; nor can they be coerced to change with the times by fear of criminal prosecution... ....
> I only wish to add, I have no doubt that Mr. Prabhu has been the *victim of an oppression nothing short of cruelty and he has all my sympathy. I do not in the least sympathise with the accused or his followers. The fault lies in the social system* of which Mr. Prabhu is a member and *the sooner one sets about to improve it the better*, and it is futile to attempt to make persons like accused responsible for the prosecution." (The Italics are mine.)

7. It will be clear from the above extract and from a close study of the modern conditions that society is completely topsy-turvy. The guilty becomes the prosecutor and the judge has to grace the dock and plead for mercy. In the words of Ramesam J. himself, "the sooner one sets about to improve it the better." But the difficulty is in answering the question: who is to do it and how it is to be done? As the present Jagadguru of Sringeri once remarked, even Sri Sankara the incarnate Deity himself sought the help of king Sudhanvan; even that unrivalled figure in history, Sri Vidyaranya, thought it necessary to establish the temporal kingdom of Vijayanagar before embarking on the spiritual and literary conquest of the land. It is not without meaning, again, that His Holiness the late illustrious Acharya of Sringeri gave vent to his sense of helplessness in the following stanzas at the time of the consecration of Sri Sankara's Temple at Kaladi.

शुद्धाद्वैतपथस्य पालनकृते पूर्वं त्वया स्थापित-
स्थानेष्वन्यतमस्थशिष्यततिगस्तत्कार्यकृत्यक्षमः ।
अज्ञानां धुरि कीर्तनीयचरितो नाद्यापि विद्यालय-
स्तस्मात्स्थानमिदं गुरूत्तम कृपावार्धे त्वमेवाश्रय ॥
यद्वा दुर्मतभेदपाटववतीं मेधां नवोन्मेषणीं
विद्यामाश्रुतशास्त्रापाठनचणां दद्या द्रुतं चेद्गुरो
साहाय्यं च सुधन्वपार्थिवसदृग्राजावलेस्तर्ह्यहं
त्वद्दीक्षाबलतो यते यतिपते तत्त्वाध्वसंवृद्धये ॥

"Though coming in the line of disciples in one of the seats founded by you for the preservation of the path of pure Adwaita, I am unable to perform the duties thereof, as being the foremost among the ignorant I have no right knowledge. O, best of Gurus and store of mercy, please therefore deign to reign yourself in this seat. Or, if you at once endow me with ever sparkling intellect capable of crushing out false creeds and with knowledge and capacity to teach the Sastras learnt by me and *if you secure me also the support of kings equal to king Sudhanvan, then in that case and on the strength of your grace I shall try*, O Lord of Ascetics, *to propagate the path of truth*."

8. Even Tippu Sultan, the staunch Mahomedan ruler of the Carnatic, issued an order to his Sirdar Syed Mahomed in 1791 that the Acharya of the Sringeri Mutt should be "enabled to enquire into the conduct of his disciples who may have neglected the performance of their religious duties." Another Mahomedan ruler, the Nizam of Hyderabad ordered in 1779 "that the property of such disciples of the said Mutt as may die *Biwaris* (without heirs) shall vest in the said Mutt and that the Swami is supreme in the matter of the performance on the part of his disciples of their respective religious duties" and in a communication dated 1843 addressed to the Sringeri Acharya mentions "Your reverence is supreme in the matter of enquiring into and establishing in their respective religious duties the several sectarians of the eighteen castes" and also that he has ordered "that none should disobey the authority of the Guru in the matter of religion." Contrast with this the attitude of our modern administrators whose "interest" in the Mutt is that of the lion in the lamb. The lion's conception of the usefulness of the latter is limited to the quantity of nice flesh available therefrom. This attitude was unmistakably shown at the time of the discussion about the Madras Religious Endowments Bill where the attention of the councillors was focussed on the question of secularising the Mutts and devising means to get money out of them for secular purposes rather than on the legitimate question of strengthening the Mutts with a view to make them more useful for the purposes for which they were founded. In the present condition of society, it is therefore impossible to expect any substantial good from the several Matadhipatis in their capacity as the Heads of Mutts for the latter function carries with it at present no rights but only disabilities. The personal influence of the Acharyas, however, cannot be interfered with by any set of administrators and it still remains beneficial to those who care to come under it.

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Literary and Educational.

The Atharva Veda.

By N. K. Venkatesan, M.A.

Students of history have, in my opinion, been placed at a considerable disadvantage with regard to the valuation and the right interpretation of the Atharva Veda owing to the various limitations placed on our understanding of this Veda. The classical idea of the importance of the three Vedas, the Rig, the Yajus and the Sama, and the enormous mass of the Srauta and Smarta literature connected with the three Vedas, combined with the fact that most of the present descendants of the Vedic Rishis observe their daily rituals in consonance with the three Vedas, have been responsible to a great extent for our inability to appreciate the Atharva Veda and estimate its true worth. This obstruction to our true understanding of the Veda caused by natural circumstances has been particularly strengthened and enhanced by the wrong interpretation given to the Veda by the western scholars who took to the study of this Veda. Prof. Macdonell characterises the Atharva-Veda as a heterogeneous collection of spells and considers its most salient teaching to be sorcery, although he is willing to concede that there are many spells of an auspicious character. This is not merely a superficial view of the contents of the Atharva Veda but it also places the student of history and religion in an absolutely false position. That it is a Veda by mere sufferance, that it is a later spurious compilation dedicated more or less to the Black Arts, that it is at its best a book of witch-craft and at its worst a hurried and incongruous combination of a heterogeneous mass of material, without distinct aim or metre is something like the conclusion of scholars regarding this Veda, which is called in the Yajur Veda, the tail of the three Vedas. The Yajur Veda is called the head, the Rig the right hand, the Sama the left hand, and the Atharva the tail of the Veda Purusha.

Weber says very slyly in his "History of Indian Literature" that the name given to the Atharva Veda was a clever manipulation, made in order to give it a status, as the "Brahman" at the sacrificial altar went without a Veda and the Atharva Veda went without a patron. This discovery seems to me to be cleverer than the original so-called manipulation itself. But the shrewd historian of Indian literature seems to have forgotten that the essential requisite for the 'Brahman' at the altar is a mastery of all the four Vedas. So what is meant by saying that the "Brahman's" Veda is the Atharva Veda is not that the Atharva Veda is to be relegated to the 'Brahman' for want of a patroniser, but that while the Hota, the Udgata and the Adhvaryu, with the master of the ceremonies, the Yajamanah, carefully followed the injunctions of the three Vedas and performed the sacrifices at the Altar, 'Brahman' having merely to call the attention to the mistakes commited during the performance by the utterance of the Pranava, it was the duty of the Brahman to be particularly ready to bring into action the injunctions of the Atharva Veda whenever and whereever necessary. The 'Brahman,' according to the Vedic conception, is the President at the altar. While, therefore, he has to watch the procedure at the whole altar, he has to guard against all obstructions to the proper performance of the rites, and the various methods by which he has to overcome physical and super-physical obstructions are laid forth in the Atharva Veda; for example when the sacrificer suddenly takes ill in the middle of his performance, when he can neither continue the rites nor give up the rites, it is the duty of the 'Brahman' to use a particur mantra of the Atharva Veda and perform a certain rite with the result that the sacrificer would go on with his work without obstruction. Similarly the various rites enjoined in the Atharva Veda are directly connected with our welfare in the material world. I have actually collected some of them and found out the uses for them. I shall on a later occasion set forth my conclusions on the purpose of this Veda in the category of the four Vedas. After a careful study of several portions with the commentary and the Sutras, I am in a position to say with conviction that the Atharva Veda has nothing to do with sorcery. Just as the corrupt specimen of a Brahman is styled a Chandala, it may be that the misuse of an Atharvic rite has led to the conception of sorcery; but of sorcery there is none in the Atharva Veda, to the best of my knowledge.

The rites of the Atharva Veda have a practical bearing upon our welfare in material life, while the rites enjoined in the three Vedas have their value by collation with the spiritual world. As Sayanacharya would have it, the other three Vedas have *adrishta phala* or unseen effect for good, while the Atharva Veda is intended to produce immediate effect in this very world. This is one aspect of Atharva Veda, which I wish to bring to the notice of Vedic students and students of history.

Prof. Whitney in his Introduction to his Translation of the Atharva Veda remarks that the metre of the hymns in this Veda is irregular and he gratuitously suggests, that its constructors did not care to have it regular. That is exactly the point of the Atharva Veda which makes it essentially differ from the other Vedas. While the other Vedas were well codified and arranged with reference to the sacrificial rites, the hymns of the Atharva Veda, having by the very nature of the Veda, reference to multifarious rites for innumerable purposes connected with material life, remained uncodified and judging from the style and the uses of the hymns, it appears to me that the Atharva Veda is more ancient in point of time than the other three Vedas. I base this conclusion upon the clear antiquity of the style and also upon the recurrences almost in every hymn of particularly rare quantities as well as on an examination of the different forms in which similar hymns occur in other Vedas.

While in other Vedas the Smartha Samskaras of the present day draw their mantras by a separate collation made for purposes of Prayoga, in the Atharva Veda the mantras and the Prayogas for Samskaras are directly associated. A great deal of doubt and speculation has been given room to regarding the significance of our Smarta Samskaras and Prayogas in relation to the Srauta Prayogas as detailed in the three Vedas. In the case of the Atharva Veda there is no room for such doubt. The Samskaras in the life of a Durga are given distinct Mantras and the Prayogas relating thereto leave no room for doubt and the mantras bear the meanings, which disclose the purpose of the Samskaras. The fact that this direct affinity between the Mantra and the Samskara is not present in the body of the other Vedas seems to show, that by the time the Smritis came to be codified for the regulation and conduct of a Durga's life, the Atharva Veda had been completely forgotten. If the Atharva Veda were a later complation, there should either be a following to it or a direct refutation of it in the Smritis. I am inclined to think that because the Atharva Veda had been given up as the Sakha of any clan, the compilers of the Smriti felt the necessity to create fresh codes for Prayoga for the followers of each of the other three Vedas, from the particular Veda, to which they belonged. It is

only in this way that we can explain the continued following of the three Vedas during the long centuries with a large mass of literature and ritual bearing upon them, while the Atharva Veda which contains all the elements of a complete Veda and of a Smriti for a regulation of conduct is practically forgotten. Some of the practices, however, bearing on the Atharva Veda seem to have continued to exist and have in course of time got reduced to mere magical formula giving rise to Tantric literature and practice on one side and those practices of a corrupt humanity generally designated witch-craft. The critic, who looked at the Atharva Veda out of its setting in the Vedic literature, could, I believe neither make the head nor the tail of it and was content to pass this off for a compilation dedicated to the practice of the Black Arts.

After a careful study of the Veda, I hold that the Atharva Veda in point of time and following preceded the three Vedas Rig, Yajus and Sama and that it is in fact the tail of the three Vedas being at the back of them; that it is a Veda, which combines in itself what we distinguish as Srauta and Smarta Karma and finally that the rites of this Veda hold good in practice even to this day to the extent to which they are practicable under the modern conditions of life. I have practically put them to the test and seen their value and I am able therefore to assert, that it is a Veda for practical life and not a book of sorcery belonging to a forgotten or misdirected age.

Historical and Scientific.

Lectures on Indian Music.

By M. S. Ramaswamy Aiyar, B.A., B.L., L.T.

Lecture VIII.

(*continued.*)

5. Venkatamakhi first described the number of swaras to be *twelve**, seven suddha swaras of Mukhari (Kanakangi) and five§ vikritha swaras, *viz.*, Sadharana and Anthara Gandhara, Varali Madhyama, and Kaisiki and Kakali Nishada. His twelve swaras may be illustrated thus:—

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Sa	Suddha ri	Suddha Ga	*Sadharana Ga*	*Anthara Ga*		*Varali Ma*	Pa	Suddha Dha	Suddha Ni	*Kaisiki Ni*	*Kakali Ni*

Fig. 1.

The *italicised* Swaras (4, 5, 7, 11 and 12) are the five vikritha swaras and the remaining seven are the Suddha Swaras of the ancient Mukhari. In all, Venkatamakhi avers there are only 12 Swaras.

*आहत्य शुद्धविकृताः स्वारा द्वादश कीर्तिताः

—Chathurdandiprakasika,

§ Venkatamakhi admits that Sharangadev makes mention of 12 vikritha swaras and another of seven.

रत्नाकरे तु निःशंको विकृतान्द्वादशस्वरान् ।
अब्रवीत्केचन पुनस्सप्ताहुर्विकृतिस्वरान् ॥
सर्वमेतत्समालोच्य लक्ष्यमार्गानुसारतः ।
स्वराः पञ्चैव विकृता इति सिद्धान्तितं मया ॥

—Ibid.

6. Then he proceeded to explain how, in order that the 22 Sruthis might be evenly distributed among the 12 swaras,* suddha Ri and suddha Dha assumed each one *rupa* or form; suddha Ga, suddha Ni and Pa, each two rupas; sadharana and anthara Gas, kaisiki and kakali Nis, suddha and varali Mas, and Sa, each three rupas. Incidentally he told us (and this is very important) that suddha Ga would be at times Panchamasruthi Ri; that suddha Ni would be at times Panchamasruthi Dha; that sadharana Ga would be at times Shadsruthi Ri; and that Kaisiki Ni would be at times Shadsruthi Dha. Venkatamakhi's twelve swaras, with the double names referred to may be illustrated thus:—

			Shadsruthi Ri — R3							Shadsruthi Dha — D3	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Sa	Suddha Ri	Panchhamasruthi Ri	Sadharana Ga	Anthara Ga	Suddha Ma	Varali Ma	Pa	Suddha Dha	Panchamasruthi Dha	Kaisiki Ni	Kakali Ni
S	R_1	R_2	G_2	G_3	M_1	M_2	P	D_1	D_2	N_2	N_3
		Suddha Ga — G_1							Suddha Ni — N_1		

(*Fig. 2.*)

7. To make my assurance doubly sure, I shall quote here the very words of Venkatamakhi which will convince you that the author of *Chathurdandiprakasika*, an undoubted authority on South Indian music, regarded as one—

(1) Suddha Ga and Panchamasruthi Ri,

(2) Sadharana Ga and Shadsruthi Ri,

(3) Suddha Ni and Panchamasruthi Dha,

and (4) Kaisiki Ni and Shadsruthi Dha. Here are his verses:—

यदा तु शुद्धगांधारो गांधारत्वं प्रपद्यते ।
तदा द्विश्रुतिकोऽज्ञेयो मुखारी रागके यथा ॥
यदा स एव जायेत ऋषभस्तु तदा पुनः ।
पंचमश्रुतिरिति ज्ञेयं श्रीरागोऽत्र निदर्शनम् ॥
एवं शुद्धनिषादस्य निषादत्वं यथा भवेत् ।
तदा द्विश्रुतिकत्वं स्यात्मुखार्यत्रनिदर्शनम् ॥
स एव यदिजायेतधैवतस्तु तदा पुनः ।
पञ्चमश्रुतिरिति ज्ञेयो शंकराभरणे यथा ॥

*द्वाविंशतिश्रुतीनां च विभागाय मयाकृतं एकरूप्याद्विरूपत्व त्रिरूपत्वनिरूपणम्

Chaturdandiprakasika.

साधारणाख्यगांधारः.......... ।

यदा ऋषभसंज्ञोऽयं तदा षट्श्रुतिकोभवेत् ॥

कैशिक्याख्यनिषादस्य............... ।

स एव धैवतश्चेत्स्यात् षट्श्रुतिर्नाटके यथा ॥

8. Questions may arise as to how Ri_2 becomes Ga_1 and Ri_3 becomes Ga_2; and how in fact there could be a merger between Ri and Ga. Venkatamakhi was shrewd enough to anticipate these questions and even put them to himself thus :—

कथं द्वितीयो ऋषभो गांधारः प्रथमोभवेत् ।

कथ तृतीय ऋषभो गांधारः स्यात् द्वितीयकः ॥

विरुद्धत्वात्तुरंगत्वगोत्वयोरिव सर्वथा ।

कथं स्यादृषभत्वेन गांधारत्वस्य संगतिः ॥

9. Then, he proceeded to answer them in his own characteristic way :—"Of the four sons of a person, the very first son must necessarily be the eldest and cannot afford to be younger than any of the other three; and the very last son must necessarily be the youngest and cannot afford to be elder than any of the other three. The Law of Relativity, if at all, applies only to the 2nd and 3rd sons. That is to say, the 2nd son is *younger* than the 1st but *elder* than the 3rd and the 4th; similary, the 3rd son is *younger* than the 1st and the 2nd but *elder* than the 4th. The first three sons, compared with the fourth, are *elder* brothers; while the last three sons, compared with the first, are *younger* brothers. Now, applying the same Law of Relativity to the four Swaras, (viz., Suddha Ri, Panchamasruthi Ri, Sadharana Ga and Anthara Ga), suddha Ri, being the eldest, remains unchanged; and anthara Ga, being the youngest, remains equally unchanged. But Panchamasruthi Ri, viewed as a younger brother of Suddha Ri, will stand as Panchamasruthi Ri; but, viewed as an elder brother of sadharana Ga, it will change its name into suddha Ga. Similarly, sadharana Ga, viewed as a younger brother of Panchama, will change its name into shadsruthi Ri; but viewed as an elder brother of Anthara Ga, it will stand as sadharna Ga. The three Ris, compared with anthara Ga, are elder swaras; while the three Gas compared with suddha Ri, are younger swaras."*

10. The same remarks hold good even in the case of Dha and Ni.

To be continued.

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*विरुद्धयेदृषभत्वं च गान्धारत्वमुभे इमे ।
किं तु सापेक्षकधर्मौस्यातामेकत्रैतनतौ ॥
यथा चत्वारएकस्य तनुजाः सर्व एव हि ।
ज्येष्ठा अपि कनिष्ठाः स्युस्तत्र चाद्यस्तु नानुजः ॥
न चतुर्थः पूर्वजः स्याद्द्विरूपावितरावुभौ ।
तृतीयं वा चतुर्थं वाप्यपेक्ष्यस्यात् द्वितीयकः ॥
पुत्रोज्येष्ठः स एवस्यात्कनिष्ठोऽपेक्ष्य चादिमम् ।
तृतीयो ज्येष्ठतायुक्तश्चतुर्थापेक्षया भवेत् ॥
स एवावरजोऽपेक्ष्य प्रथमं च द्वितीयकम् ।
पथमाद्यास्त्रयस्तस्माद्यथाज्येष्ठाभवन्त्यमी ॥
द्वितीयाद्यास्त्रयः पुत्राः कनीयांसो यथा भवन् ।
एवं त्रयोऽत्र ऋषभाज्येष्ठकल्पाभवन्त्यमी ॥
चतुर्ष्वेषु स्वरेष्वेतौ द्वितीयकतृतीयकौ ।
ऋषभावपि गांधारौ स्यातामू तस्मात्समंजसम् ॥

Chaturdandiprakasika

Miscellaneous.

Fundamental Faith of Indian History.

BY T. L. VASWANI.

In the coming days, the Nation's youths have, as it seems to me, a triple task before them,—(1) development of the scientific spirit, (2) recovery of Aryan wisdom, and (3) transformation of motives.

(a) *Scientific Spirit* :— Far back of politics lie economics. It is the hunger of multitudes and millions that speaks in the Unrest of to-day. Hunger and poverty in a Land which Nature has blessed with rich resources! The mineral, agricultural, and forest-wealth of India is enormous. But it lies undeveloped. We need the power of science. Scientific brains, too, will help in starting cottage industries and rural reconstruction. And do not we need the leaven of the scientific spirit in daily life? A mass of men and women without intelligent thinking is not democracy but mobocracy. Self-Government is not won or retained without judgment. Denmark and Sweden are small countries but very well developed democratically. In both these countries there is respect for intellect. In some of the democratic countries in Europe, there are Peasant Universities open to farmers and domestic servants. In ancient India, there was very great respect for men of intellect. Unhappy is the country which falls under the domination of mere feeling. Such a country is a fit field for exploitation by demagogues. In India to-day, the multitudes need the discipline of thinking. Emotion needs to be curbed and controlled as in Japan. The scientific spirit,—the spirit of inquiry, reflection, and humility,—is our need. A campaign of knowledge must be organised.

(b) *Aryan Wisdom:*—If behind politics lie economics, back of economics lie ethics. Many of the schools in our country are centres not of education but mis-education. They have forgotten India. They regard her Ideals as superstitions. A nation's distinct individuality is expressed in its ideals, heroes, sages and prophets,—its Culture and Faiths. And those of India have a world-value. For men are not meant to be mere economic machines. And nations are neither happy nor rich in the wealth that counts by merely producing wealth. Distribution of wealth is as necessary as production; and distribution must obey moral laws, laws of the soul. Else mass-misery must continue and its current 'solution',—violent revolutions. The two rampant evils of the present era are competitive commercialism and narrow nationalism. The two meet together in imperialism. Their corrective is humanising culture.

Therefore I plead for recovery of the Aryan Wisdom. Its inspiration is the faith that the One Divine Self is in all nations, all races, all religions. The country needs a new type of schools, asrams, homes of education, not merely national but essentially humanising—an education such as may hand on, from generation to generation, the fundamental faith of India's history,—the faith of her rishis and prophets. Not without reason did Pilgrims come to India from far-off lands. Of one of them we read how, with love and reverence in his heart, he travelled from China to India, walking practically the whole of the long distance across the desert of Gobi over the Hindu Kush. And for 13 years he walked across India and returned to China by ship after staying for 2 years in Ceylon. And what did he bring to his countrymen from India? Not silver and gold. But something more precious, Indian Scriptures. And this pilgrim from China "wrote down on bamboo tablets and silk, an account of what he had seen through" in India. India and her Scriptures inspired such reverence, for they bore witness to the vision of the One Divine Self in all. And if I plead for a new study of Aryan Ideals and a new appreciation

Of old, forgotten, far-off things
And heroic actions long ago,

it is because I believe they bear witness to Faith in the divine values of life. It is the Faith we need.

(3) *Transformation of motives.*—Many, today, are dominated by the economic motive. They study with a view to secure comfortable jobs. A margin of comfort is a craving of the natural man. But was man meant to be a mere economic machine to make, Ford-like, money and yet more money, every day?

Many young men are dominated by the human motive of ambition. They want position, honour. They want power. Such a motive has its place in the life of a nation that enjoys political freedom. Such a motive is out of place in our present state of subjection. There can be no comfortable jobs or honours for those who would work to lift the nation out of its depths of humiliation. For such young men—and women,—the only life worth living is the life of tapasya, renunciation.

Nations alas! are smitten with the fever of revenge and revolution. Vibrations of hate are multiplying. But in the hearts of a few in the East and a few in the West is the dream of a New Civilisation built not in blood but fellowship, not hate but Love. It is the Dream of a new Era of Brotherhood. Will India's youth help in realising the Dream? So I asked myself the other night, and through the window looked at the silver, silent moon. But Silence has a Voice. And in my heart I heard the words:—

By the power of tapasya will the youth of India build a Freedom richer and more radiant than the Dream.

—*The Servant.*

The Fog of Politics.

Nothing is so damaging to a cause or so great an impediment to its success than confused ideas about what it is and how it is going to be vindicated. Politics, as understood in Western countries and as imitated elsewhere, relies for the effectiveness of its tactics on a confusion of issues, on the manufacture of a false public opinion, on wilfully misleading people into expecting what they have no chance of getting, and on the distortion of public sentiment to suit the wishes and plans of those who are in charge, or hope to secure the charge, of the administrative machinery. As propaganda of this type, however subtle its methods and however finished its execution, is always accompanied by counter-propaganda and followed, sooner or later, by an inevitable exposure, politics is forced to move on from one set of illusions and misrepresentations to another. Diplomacy thrives on credulity, and credulity in turn encourages further diplomacy, with the result that a thick fog is always found to obscure the moves and retorts of political chicanery. Those who are tempted to regard this as a pessimistic view of so important a department of modern social life as politics need but compare the promises which the various European ministers made to their respective peoples during the war of 1914-8 with the treaties and agreements which the same ministers simultaneously made with the representatives of other countries.

From this point of view it is extremely regrettable that the subjection of India has extended to the point of introducing into her public life a faith in the usual methods of Western politics. This faith is, directly or indirectly, responsible for the bulk of the misery and discontent in Europe and America which is so glibly imputed to the economic dislocations caused by the war. In spite of the heroic attempt made by Mahatma Gandhi in the early stages of the non-cooperation movement to banish political ideals and methods, the fog of politics has now settled on the Indian horizon thickly enough to blur the vision, to distort proportions, to confuse values, and to create a general atmosphere of unreality and uncertainty. The exhibitions of thrust-and-parry which are taking place in the Imperial Assembly, the truculent "demand" put forward by the newly-formed Nationalist Party, the suave counsels of prudence urged by the Moderate remnant, the deft compromises suggested by isolated Independants, and above all the stolid defiance of the official spokesmen, are all a screen behind which figures and shapes move darkly and mysteriously, figures that defy identification and shapes that are without any steady form.

It is not easy to predict how or when the fog will move away; but one may well extricate from out its folds the central fact that is being obscured by it. This central fact has naturally two facets, according as it is looked at from the side of the people or from that of the Government. If there is anything concrete in the attitude of the bulk of the elected M. L. As., it is to be found in the desire to wrest from the British Parliament all power over the future of Indian political development: even if absolute self-government is not obtained at once, its attainment must not be postponed beyond the period required for making the necessary adjustments in the administration and should on no account be contingent on the discretion of the British House of Commons or of any one else. But the amendment moved by Pandit Motilal Nehru and carried against the Government by a large majority does not state it in so many words; it merely demands a revision of the Reforms Act and a Round Table Conference which is to be fully representative and is to frame a constitution for establishing full resssponsible government in India, it leaves out such important details as the constitution of the Conference, the scope of its inquiry, the validity of its recommendations, and the manner and period of the transition from the present system to "full responsible government." It takes for granted that the British Government is prepared to abdicate its sovereignty over the Indian Dependency and to entrust all its rights and prerogatives into the hands of the Round Table Conference, which shall be fully competent to do what it likes with the future of India. It omits to state that compliance with the proposal for a Round Table Conference would be the final act of renunciation by the bureaucracy, because the sanction of Parliament to the contemplated statute is obviously meant to be a formal step and one to which the British Parliament would be virtually pledged in advance.

On its side the Government has been equally vague. Sir Malcolm Hailey, it is true, has brought out in his speeches the full implications of the Nationalist demand; but he has himself not been definite in stating what the Government intends or is ready to do. The inquiry to which he referred, supposing that it does take place even after the adverse vote of the Assembly, might lead to no results at all or might satisfy some of those who are now out for "full responsible government." But official prestige naturally revolts against prompt submission to agitation and he found it convenient to take shelter under the formula that "progress" must be within the letter of the Reforms Act. He would not even admit that the day is beyond calculation when the Government would be prepared to part with real power.

This is how the fog has arisen in Delhi and spread to other parts of the country. The whole fallacy lies, in our opinion, in the postulate that the machinery of the Reforms can be used to defeat their specific purpose—that of thwarting the national aspirations of the people of India. Whatever else we might be able to do, we can never use the Reforms as a lever for any real progress towards Swaraj. For this we must turn inwards, strengthen the forces that are already arrayed in protest against national subjection, rouse the immense latent power of the masses to an appreciation of their true position, and marshal the whole country into an organized whole ready to suffer and sacrifice for the sake of Swaraj. Nothing real or valuable ever comes through mere oratory—through resolutions, recommendations, or conferences. There must be behind the resolutions the will that could give effect to them; behind the recommendations the moral prestige which shall make them respected; behind conferences the strength to have them held, and held to the fulfilment of the aim in view. India wants, and sadly wants this will, this prestige, this strength; and, thus handicapped, her resolutions, recommendations, and conferences can be of no avail, if indeed they do not serve to distract her attention and dissipate her energies. Let not the fog outside becloud the spirit within; let not petty politics side-track us from the realization of our destiny as a nation.

—*The Forum.*

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—*The Madras Mail.*

The publications of the Sri Vani Vilas Press have made a name for themselves. The present publication has well kept the high standard and is a solid contribution to the Vedanta literature. The subject matter of the book cannot be discussed at length in the short space available, but we strongly recommend the book to the students of Vedanta.

—*The Mahratta*

It is with much pleasure that we welome this publication which is, we believe, the almost first attempt made by a competent scholar to set forth and expound in English the true Hindu view of Karma and its place in the Vedanta philosophy, as presented in the authoritative writings which form the foundation of Vedic Religion and to compare and contrast the same with the several Ethical Ideals advocated in the West. We need hardly say that Professor Sundararama Aiyar possesses in a preeminent degree the qualifications essential for entering upon such a task. Besides being thoroughly conversant with the leading works which have been written in English on History, Philosophy, Ethics and Religion, Professor Sundararama Iyer has sat with eminent Sanskrit Pandits like the late Maha Mahopadhyaya Ganapathy Sastrial and has devoted several years to the study of the leading Hindu Scriptures and the commentaries thereon by Sankara and other great philosophers; and his work under review bears in every page ample evidence of his varied and extensive learning on the subjects in question. Prof. Sundararama Iyer presents a rare and refreshing spectacle of a modern scholar turning to the Sacred Books in Sanskrit, not for the purpose of exploiting them with a view to propound some fantastic theories in Philology and Chronology, but for the very proper and legitimate purpose of learning and expounding the essential truths of Religion and Philosophy enshrined in such ancient writings. Within the short space of a newspaper review we cannot do full justice to, nor even give an adequate idea of, the several topics of Ethics and Philosophy discussed in this interesting volume. It deserves the careful perusal throughout of every educated Hindu who has still left a remnant of faith in his ancient Scriptures and Sages.

* * * *

It is exceedingly in the fitness of things that Prof. Sundararama Aiyar should employ the evening of his life to such ennobling studies on Vedanta and we hope he will be spared for several years more with health and strength so that he may devote his great knowledge and talents to the production of similar works for the benefit of his less enlightened countrymen.

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